N: 28.
29

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COMMON-WEALTH OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND,

And the Dominions thereto belonging;

As it was publickly declared at *Weſtminſter*, the 16. day of *December* 1653.

In the preſence of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal of *England*, the Lord Major and Aldermen of the City of *London*, divers of the Judges of the Land, the Officers of State and Army, and many other Perſons of quality. At which time and place his Highnes *OLIVER*, LORD PROTECTOR of the ſaid Common-wealth, took a Solemn Oath for obſerving the ſame.

Publiſhed by His Highneſs the LORD PROTECTOR's *ſpecial Commandment.*

EDINBURGEN * EX BIBL. UNIV.

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V.29

The Government of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, *and* IRELAND.

I. THat the Supreme Legiſlative Authority of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, ſhall be, and reſide in One Perſon, and the People aſſembled in Parliament; The Stile of which Perſon ſhall be, *LORD PROTECTOR* of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

II. That the Exerciſe of the chief Magiſtracie and Adminiſtration of the Government over the ſaid Countries and Dominions, and the People thereof, ſhall be in the *Lord PROTECTOR*, aſſiſted with a Council; the Number whereof ſhal not exceed Twenty one, nor be leſs than Thirteen.

III. That all Writs, Proceſſes, Commiſſions, Patents, Grants, and other things, which now run in the Name and Style of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England* by Authority of Parliament, ſhall run in the Name and Style of the *Lord PROTECTOR*; from whom for the future, ſhall be derived all Magiſtracie and Honors in theſe three Nations, and ſhall have the power of Pardons, (except in caſe of Murder and Treaſon) and benefit of all forfeitures for the publick uſe. And ſhall govern the ſaid Countries and Dominions in all things by the Advice of the Council; and according to theſe Preſents, and the Laws.

IV. That the *Lord PROTECTOR*, the Parliament ſitting, ſhall diſpoſe and order the *Militia* and Forces both by Sea and Land, for the peace and good of the three Nations, by Conſent of Parliament; And that the *Lord PROTECTOR*, with the Advice and Conſent of the major part of the Councill, ſhall diſpoſe and order the *Militia* for the ends aforeſaid in the Intervals of Parliament.

V. That the *Lord PROTECTOR* by the Advice aforeſaid, ſhal direct in all things, concerning the keeping and holding of a good Correſpondencie with forreign Kings, Princes and States, and alſo

with the Consent of the major part of the Council, have the power of War and Peace.

VI. That the Laws shall not be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed nor any new Law made, nor any Tax, Charge, or Imposition laid upon the People, but by common consent in Parliament, save only as is expressed in the 30. Article.

VII. That there shall be a Parliament summoned to meet at *Westminster* upon the third day of *September*, one thousand six hundred fifty four; and that successively a Parliament shal be summoned once in every third year, to be accompted from the dissolution of the preceding Parliament.

VIII. That neither the Parliament to be next summoned, nor any successive Parliaments, shall, during the time of five Moneths, to be accompted from the day of their first meeting, be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved without their own Consent.

IX. That as well the next, as all other successive Parliaments, shall be summoned and elected in manner hereafter expresst, That is to say, The Persons to be chosen within *England*, *Wales*, the Isles of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon Tweed, to sit and serve in Parliament, shall be, and not exceed the Number of Four hundred. The Persons to be chosen within *Scotland*, to sit and serve in Parliament, shall be, and not exceed the Number of Thirty. And the Persons to be chosen to sit in Parliament for *Ireland*, shall be, and not exceed the number of thirty.

X. That the Persons to be elected to sit in Parliament from time to time for the several Counties of *England*, *Wales*, the Isles of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon Tweed, and all places within the same respectively, shall be according to the proportions and numbers hereafter expresst, That is to say,

For the Countie of Bedford, *six*, viz.
For the Town of Bedford, *one.*
For the Countie of Bedford, *five.*

For the Countie of Berks, *seven*, viz.
For the Borough of Abingdon, *one.*
For the Borough of Reading, *one.*
For the Countie of Berks, *five.*

For the Countie of Bucks, *eight*, viz.
For the Town of Buckingham, *one.*

For the Borough of Alisburie, *one.*
For the Borough of Wiccomb, *one.*
For the Countie of Bucks, *five.*

For the Countie of Cambridge *and* Isle of Ely, *eight*, viz.
for the Town of Cambridge, *one.*
for the Universitie of Cambridge, *one.*
for the Isle of Ely, *two.*
for the County of Cambridge, *four.*

For the County of Chester, *Five*, viz.
for the City of Chester, *one.*
for the County of Chester, *four.*

For the County of Cornwel, *Twelve*, viz.
for the Borough of Dunishwet, *otherwise* Launceston, *one.*
for the Borough of Truro, *one.*
for the Borough of Penryn, *one.*
for the Boroughs of Eastlow *and* Westlow, *one.*
for the County of Cornwal, *eight.*

For the County of Cumberland, *Three*, viz.
for the City of Carlisle, *one.*
for the County of Cumberland, *two.*

For the County of Derby, *Five*, viz.
for the Town of Derby, *one.*
for the County of Derby, *four.*

For the County of Devon, *Twenty*, viz.
for the City of Excester, *two.*
for the Borough of Plymouth, *two.*
for the Borough of Dartmouth, Clifton, *and* Hardness, *one.*
for the Borough of Totness, *one.*
for the Borough of Barnstable, *one.*
for the Borough of Tiverton, *one.*
for the Borough of Honyton, *one.*
for the County of Devon, *eleven.*

For the County of Dorset, *Ten*, viz.
for the Borough of Dorchester, *one.*
for the Borough of Weymouth, *and* Melcomb-Regis, *one.*

for

for the Burough of Lyme-Regis, *one.*
for the Town and County of Poole, *one.*
for the County of Dorset, *six.*

For the County of Durham, *Three,* viz.
for the City of Durham, *one.*
for the County of Durham, *two.*

For the County of York, *Twenty two,* viz.
for the City of York, *two.*
for the Town of Kingston *upon* Hull, *one.*
for the Borough of Beverley, *one.*
for the Borough of Scarborough, *one.*
for the Burough of Richmond, *one.*
for the Town of Leeds, *one.*
for the Town and Parish of Halifax, *one.*
for the County of York, *fourteen, to be chosen distinctly by the three Ridings: That is to say, for the* West-*riding, six, for the* East-*riding, four, for the* North-*riding, four.*

For the County of Essex, *Sixteen,* viz.
for the Burough of Maldon, *one,*
for the Borough of Colchester, *two.*
for the County of Essex, *thirteen.*

For the County of Gloucester, *and County of the City of* Gloucester, *Nine,* viz.
for the City of Gloucester, *two.*
for the Borough of Tewksberry, *one.*
for the Borough of Cirencester, *one.*
for the County, and the County of the City of Gloucester, *except the said City, five.*

For the County of Hereford, *Six,* viz.
for the City of Hereford, *one.*
for the Borough of Leompster, *one.*
for the County of Hereford, *four.*

For the County of Hartford, *Seven,* viz.
for the Town of St. Alban, *one.*
for the Borough of Hartford, *one.*
for the County of Hartford, *five.*

for

For the Countie of Huntingdon, *four* viz.
for the Borough of Huntingdon, *one*,
for the County of Huntingdon, *three*.

For the County of Kent, *Eighteen*, viz.
for the City of Canterbury, *two*.
for the City of Rochester, *one*.
for the Borough of Maydston, *one*.
for the Port of Dover, *one*.
for the Port of Sandwich, *one*.
for the Borough of Quinborough, *one*.
for the County of Kent, *eleven*.

For the County of Lancaster, *Eight*, viz.
for the Borough of Preston *in* Anderness, *one*.
for the Borough of Lancaster, *one*.
for the Borough of Leverpool, *one*.
for the Town and Parish of Manchester, *one*.
for the County of Lancaster, *four*.

For the County of Leceſter, *Six*, viz.
for the Borrough of Leceſter, *two*.
for the County of Leceſter, *four*.

For the County of Lilcoln, *Sixteen*, viz.
for the City of Lincoln, *two*.
for the Town of Bolton, *one*.
for the Borough of Grantham, *one*.
for the Town of Stamford, *one*.
for the Town of Great Grimsby, *one*.
for the County of Lincoln. *ten*.

For the County of Middleſex, *Six*, viz.
for the City of Weſtminſter, *two*.
for the County of Middleſex, *four*.

For the City of London, *ſix*.

For the County of Monmouth, *three*.

For the County of Northfolk, *Sixteen*, viz.
for the City of Norwich, *two*.
for the Town of Lyn-Regis, *two*.

for the Town of Great Yarmouth, two.
for the Countie of Norfolk, ten.

For the Countie of Northampton, eight, viz.
for the City of Peterborough, one.
for the Town of Northampton, one.
for the Countie of Northampton, six.

For the County of Notingham, six, viz.
for the Town of Notingham, two.
for the County of Notingham, four.

For the Countie of Northumberland, five, viz.
for the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne, one.
for the Town of Berwick, one.
for the Countie of Northumberland, three.

For the Countie of Oxford, eight, viz.
for the City of Oxford. one.
for the University of Oxford, one.
for the Borough of Woodstock, one.
for the Countie of Oxford, five.

For the Countie of Rutland, two.

For the County of Salop, eight, viz.
for the Town of Shrewsbury, two.
for the Borough of Bruges alias Bridgnorth, one.
for the Borough of Ludlow, one.
for the Countie of Salop, four.

For the Countie of Stafford, six, viz.
for the Citie of Litchfield, one.
for the Town of Stafford, one.
for the Borough of Newcastle on the Lane, one.
for the Countie of Stafford, three.

For the Countie of Sommerset, sixteen, viz.
for the Borough of Taunton, two.
for the Citie of Bath, one.
for the Citie of Wells, one.
for the Borough of Bridgwater, one.
for the Countie of Sommerset, eleven.

For

For *the City of* Briſtol, *two.*

For *the County of* Southampton, *fourteen*, viz.
for *the City of* Winchester, *one.*
for *the Town of* Southampton, *one.*
for *the Town of* Portſmouth, *one.*
for *the Iſle of* Wight, *two.*
for *the Borough of* Andover, *one.*
for *the County of* Southampton, *eight.*

For *the County of* Suffolk, *ſixteen*, viz.
for *the Borough of* Ipſwitch, *two.*
for *the Borough of* Bury *St.* Edmonds, *two*
for *the Burough of* Dunwich, *one.*
for *the Borough of* Sudbury, *one.*
for *the County of* Suffolk, *ten.*

For *the County of* Surry, *ten*, viz.
for *the Borough of* Southwark, *two.*
for *the Borough of* Guilford, *one.*
for *the Borough of* Rygate, *one.*
for *the County of* Surry, *ſix.*

For *the County of* Suſſex, *fourteen*, viz.
for *the City of* Chicheſter, *one.*
for *the Borough of* Lewis, *one.*
for *the Borough of* Eaſt-greenſtead, *one.*
for *the Borough of* Arundel, *one.*
for *the Borough of* Rye, *one.*
for *the County of* Suſſex, *nine.*

For *the County of* Weſtmoreland, *two.*

For *the County of* Warwick, *ſeven*, viz.
for *the Citie of* Coventry, *two.*
for *the Borough of* Warwick, *one.*
for *the Countie of* VVarwick, *four.*

For *the Countie of* Worceſter, *ſeven*, viz.
for *the Citie and Countie of the Citie of* Worceſter, *two.*
for *the Countie of* Worceſter, *five.*

For *the Countie of* Wilts, *fourteen*, viz.
for *the Citie of New* Sarum, *two.*

for *the Borough of* Marleborough, *one.*
for *the Borough of the* Devizes, *one.*
for *the Countie of* Wilts, *ten.*

For *the County of* Anglesey, *two.*

For *the Countie of* Brecon, *two.*

For *the Countie of* Cardigan, *two.*

For *the Countie of* Carmarthen, *two.*

For *the Countie of* Carnarvon, *two.*

For *the Countie of* Denbigh, *two.*

For *the Countie of* Flint, *two.*

For *the Countie of* Glamorgan, *three*, viz.
for *the Town of* Cardiffe, *one.*
for *the Countie of* Glamorgan, *two.*

For *the Countie of* Merioneth, *one.*

For *the County of* Montgomery, *two.*

For *the Countie of* Pembrook, *three*, viz.
for *the Town of* Haverfordwest, *one.*
for *the Countie of* Pembrook, *two.*

For *the Countie of* Radnor, *two.*

The distribution of the Persons to be chosen for *Scotland*, and the severall Counties Cities, and places within the same, shall be according to such proportions and number, as shall be agreed upon, and declared by the Lord *Protector* and the major part of the Councill, before the sending forth Writs of Summons for the next Parliament. The distribution of the Persons to be chosen for *Ireland*, and the severall Counties, Cities, and places within the same, shall be according to such proportions and number, as shall be agreed upon, and declared by the Lord *Protector*, and the major part of the Councill, before the sending forth Writs of Summons for the next Parliament.

XI. That the Summons to Parliament shall be by Writ under the Great Seal of *England*, directed to the Sheriffs of the severall and respective Counties, with such alteration as may suit with the pre-

sent Government to be made by the Lord *Protector* and his Council, which the Chancellour, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, shall seal, issue, and send abroad by Warrant from the Lord *Protector*. If the Lord *Protector* shall not give warrant for issuing of Writs of Summons for the next Parliament, before the first day of *June*, one thousand six hundred fifty four, or for the Triennial Parliaments before the first day of *August* in every third year, to be accounted as aforesaid; That then the Chancellour, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal for the time being, shall, without any Warrant or direction, within seven dayes after the said first day of *June*, one thousand six hundred fifty four, Seal, Issue, and send abroad Writs of Summons (changing therein what is to be changed as aforesaid) to the severall and respective Sheriffs of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, for summoning the Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, the third of *September* next; and shall likewise, within seven dayes after the said first day of *August*, in every third year, to be accounted from the dissolution of the precedent Parliament, Seal, Issue, and send abroad severall Writs of Summons, changing therein what is to be changed, as aforesaid, for Summoning the Parliament to meet at *Westminster* the sixt of *November* in that third year, That the said severall and respective Sheriffs shall, within ten dayes after the receipt of such Writs as aforesaid, cause the same to be proclaimed and published in every Market-town within his County, upon the Market-dales thereof, between Twelve and Three of the Clock; and shall then also publish and declare the certain day of the week and moneth for choosing Members to serve in Parliament for the Body of the said County, according to the tenor of the said Writ, which shall be upon Wednesday five weeks after the date of the Writ; and shall likewise declare the place where the Election shall be made; for which purpose he shall appoint the most convenient place for the whole County to meet in, and shall send Precepts for Elections to be made in all and every City, Town, Borough or place within his County, where Elections are to be made by vertue of these Presents, to the Major, Sheriff, or other Head-Officer of such City, Town, Borough or place, within Three dayes after the receit of such Writ and Writs, which the said Majors, Sheriffs and Officers respectively are to make publication of, and of the certain day for such Elections to be made in the said City, Town or place aforesaid, and to cause Elections to be made accordingly.

XII. That at the day and place of Elections, the Sheriff of each County, and the said Majors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs and other Head-Officers within their Cities, Towns, Boroughs and places respectively, shall take view of the said Elections, and shall make return into the *Chancery* within Twenty dayes after the said Elections of the persons elected by the greater number of Electors, under their hands and seals, between him on the one part, and the Electors on the other part; wherein shall be contained, That the persons elected shall not have power to alter the Government as it is hereby settled in one single Person and a Parliament.

XIII. That the Sheriff, who shall wittingly and willingly make any false return, or neglect his duty, shall incur the penalty of Two thousand Marks of lawfull English Money; the one moyety to the Lord *Protector*, and the other moyety to such person as will sue for the same.

XIV. That all and every person and persons, who have aided, advised, assisted, or abetted in any War against the Parliament, since the First day of *January*, One thousand six hundred forty one (unless they have been since in the service of the Parliament, and given signall Testimony of their good Affections thereunto) shall be disabled, and be uncapable to be elected, or to give any Vote in the Election of any Members to serve in the next Parliament, or in the three succeeding Triennial Parliaments.

XV. That all such, who have advised, assisted, or abetted the Rebellion of *Ireland*, shall be disabled and uncapable for ever to be elected, or to give any Vote in the Election of any Member to serve in Parliament: as also all such who do or shall profess the Roman Catholick Religion.

XVI. That all Votes and Elections given or made contrary, or not according to these Qualifications, shall be null and void: And if any person who is hereby made uncapable, shall give his Vote for Election of Members to serve in Parliament, such person shall lose and forfeit one full years value of his real estate, and one full third part of his personal estate, one moiety thereof to the *Lord Protector*, and the other moyetie to him, or them who shall sue for the same.

XVII. That the persons who shall be elected to serve in Parliament shall be such (and no other then such) as are persons of known Integrity, fearing God, and of good conversation, and being of the age of One and twenty years.

XVIII. That all and every person and persons seized or possessed

to his own uſe, of any eſtate real or perſonall, to the value of Two hundred pounds, and not within the aforeſaid Exceptions, ſhall be capable to elect Members to ſerve in Parliament for Counties.

XIX. That the Chancellor, Keeper or Commiſsioners of the Great Seal, ſhall be ſworn before they enter into their Offices, truly and faithfully to iſſue forth and ſend abroad Writs of Summons to Parliaments at the times, and in the manner before expreſt And in caſe of neglect or failer, to iſſue and ſend abroad Writs accordingly, he or they ſhall for every ſuch offence, be guilty of High Treaſon, and ſuffer the pains and penalties thereof.

XX. That in caſe Writs be not iſſued out, as is before expreſt, but that there be a neglect therein, fifteen dayes after the time wherein the ſame ought to be iſſued out by the Chancellor, Keeper or Commiſsioners of the Great Seal, that then the Parliament ſhall, as often as ſuch failer ſhall happen, aſſemble and be held at *Weſtminſter*, in the uſuall place, at the times prefixt, in manner, and by the means hereafter expreſſed, That is to ſay, That the Sheriff of the ſeveral and reſpective Counties, Sheriffdoms, Cities, Boroughs and places aforeſaid, within *England*, *Wales*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, the Chancellor, Maſters and Scholars of the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and the Major and Bailiffs of the Borough of *Berwick* upon Tweed, and other the places aforeſaid reſpectively, ſhall at the ſeveral Courts and places to be appointed, as aforeſaid, within Thirty dayes after the ſaid Fifteen dayes, cauſe ſuch Members to be choſen for their ſaid ſeveral and reſpective Counties, Sheriffdoms, Univerſities, Cities, Boroughs, and places aforeſaid, by ſuch perſons, and in ſuch maner, as if ſeveral and reſpective Writs of Summons to Parliament under the Great Seal had iſſued and been awarded according to the Tenor aboveſaid: That if the Sheriff or other perſons authorized, ſhall neglect his or their duty herein; That all and every ſuch Sheriff and perſon authorized as aforeſaid, ſo neglecting his or their duty, ſhall, for every ſuch Offence, be guilty of High Treaſon, and ſhall ſuffer the pains and penalties thereof.

XXI. That the Clerk, called *The Clerk of the Commonwealth*, in Chancery for the time being, and all others who ſhall afterwards execute that Office, to whom the Returns ſhall be made, ſhall for the next Parliament, and the two ſucceeding Triennial Parliaments, the next day after ſuch Return, certifie the Names of the ſeveral perſons ſo returned, and of the places for which he and they were choſen reſpectively, unto the Council, who ſhall peruſe the ſaid Returns, and

examine whether the persons so Elected and Returned be such as is agreeable to the Qualifications, and not disabled to be elected: And that every person and persons being so duly Elected, and being approved of by the major part of the Council to be persons not disabled, but qualified as aforesaid, shall be esteemed a Member of Parliament, and be admitted to sit in Parliament, and not otherwise.

XXII. That the persons chosen and assembled in maner aforesaid, or any Sixty of them, shall be, and be deemed the Parliament of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; and the Supreme Legislative Power to be and reside in the *Lord Protector* and such Parliament, in maner herein expresst.

XXIII. That the *Lord Protector*, with the advice of the major part of the Council, shall at any other time then is before expresst, when the necessities of the State shall require it, summon Parliaments in manner before expresst, which shall not be Adjourned, Prorogued or Dissolved without their own Consent, during the first three Moneths of their Sitting: And in case of future War with any Forreign State, a Parliament shall be forthwith Summoned for their Advice concerning the same.

XXIV. That all Bills agreed unto by the Parliament, shall be presented to the *Lord Protector* for his consent; and in case he shall not give his consent thereto, within Twenty dayes after they shall be presented to him, or give satisfaction to the Parliament within the time limited; That then, upon Declaration of the Parliament, That the *Lord Protector* hath not consented nor given Satisfaction, such Bills shall pass into, and become Laws, although he shall not give his consent thereunto; provided such Bills contein nothing in them contrary to the matters conteined in these Presents.

XXV. That *Philip* Lord Viscount *Lisle*, *Charles Fleetwood* Esquire, *John Lambert* Esquire, Sir *Gilbert Pickering* Baronet, Sir *Charles Wolseley* Baronet, Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper* Baronet, *Edward Montagu* Esquire, *John Disborow* Esquire, *Walter Strickland* Esquire, *Henry Lawrence* Esquire, *William Sydenham* Esquire, *Philip Jones* Esquire, *Richard Major* Esquire, *Francis Rous*, *Phil. Skippon* Esquires, or any seven of them, shall be a Council for the purposes expresst in this Writing, and upon the death, or other removal of any of them, the Parliament shall nominate six persons of Ability, Integrity, and fearing God, for every one that is dead or removed, out of which the major part of the Council shall elect two, and present them to the *Lord Protector*, of which he shall elect one;

And

And in case the Parliament shall not nominate within Twenty dayes, after notice given unto them thereof, the major part of the Counc of shall nominate three as aforesaid, to the *Lord Protector*, who out them shall supply the vacancy; And untill this Choice be made, the remaining part of the Council shall execute as fully in all things, as if their number were full: And in case of corruption, or other miscarriage in any of the Council in their Trust, the Parliament shall appoint seven of their numbers, and the Council six, who, together with the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal for the time being, shall have power to hear and determin such corruption and mis-carriage, and to award and inflict punishment, as the nature of the Offence shall deserve; which punishment shall not be pardoned or remitted by the *Lord Protector*: And in the interval of Parliaments, the major part of the Council, with the consent of the *Lord Protector*, may, for Corrupt on, or other mis-carriage, as aforesaid, suspend any of their number from the exercise of their Trust, if they shall finde it just, untill the matter shall be heard and examined, as aforesaid.

XXVI. That the *Lord Protector*, and the major part of the Council aforesaid, may at any time before the meeting of the next Parliament, add to the Council such persons as they shall think fit; provided the number of the Council be not made thereby to exceed One and twenty, and the *Quorum* to be proportioned accordingly by the *Lord Protector*, and the major part of the Council.

XXVII. That a constant yearly Revenue shal be raised, setled and establisht for maintaining of Ten thousand Horse and Dragoons, and Twenty thousand Foot, in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for the Defence and Security thereof, and also for a convenient number of Ships for guarding of the Seas; besides Two hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, for defraying the other necessary Charges for administration of Justice, and other Expences of the Government: Which Revenue shall be raised by the Customs, and such other ways and means as shall be agreed upon by the *Lord Protector* and Council, and shall not be taken away or diminisht, nor the way agreed upon for raising the same altered, but by the consent of the *Lord Protector* and the Parliament.

XXVIII. That the said yearly Revenue shall be paid into the publick Treasury, and shall be issued out for the Uses aforesaid.

XXIX. That in case there shall not be cause hereafter to keep up so great a Defence at Land or Sea, but that there be an abatement made

made thereof; the Money which will be saved thereby, shall remain in bank for the Publick Service; and not be employed to any other use but by consent of Parliament; or in the intervals of Parliament, by the *Lord Protector* and major part of the Council.

XXX. That the raising of Money for defraying the Charge of present extraordinary Forces both at Land and Sea, in respect of the present Wars, shall be by consent in Parliament, and not otherwise; save only that the Lord Protector, with the consent of the major part of the Councill, for preventing the Disorders and Dangers which may otherwise fall out both at Sea and Land, shall have power, untill the meeting of the first Parliament, to raise Money for the purposes aforesaid, and also to make Laws and Ordinances for the Peace and Welfare of these Nations where it shall be necessary, which shall be binding and in force, untill Order shall be taken in Parliament concerning the same.

XXXI. That the Lands, Tenements, Rents, Royalties, Jurisdictions and Hereditaments which remain yet unsold or undisposed of by Act or Ordinance of Parliament, belonging to the Commonwealth, (except the Forests and Chases, and the Honors and Manors belonging to the same; the Lands of the Rebels in *Ireland*, lying in the four Counties of *Dublin*, *Cork*, *Kildare*, and *Katerlaugh*; the Lands forfeited by the People of *Scotland* in the late Wars; and also the Lands of Papists and Delinquents in *England*, who have not yet compounded) shall be vested in the Lord *Protector*; To hold to him and his Successors, *Lord Protectors* of these Nations, and shall not be aliened, but by consent in Parliament: And all Debts, Fines, Issues, Amerciaments, Penalties and Profits, certain and casual, due to the Keepers of the Liberties of *England* by Authority of Parliament, shall be due to the *Lord Protector*, and be payable into his Publick Receipt, and shall be recovered and prosecuted in his Name.

XXXII. That the Office of the *Lord Protector* over these Nations, shall be Elective, and not Hereditary; and upon the death of the *Lord Protector*, another fit Person shall be forthwith elected to succeed Him in the Government, which Election shall be by the Council; who, immediatly upon the death of the *Lord Protector*, shall assemble in the Chamber where they usually sit in Council, and having given notice to all their number, of the cause of their assembling, shall (being thirteen at least present) proceed to the Election; and before they depart out of the said Chamber, shall elect a fit Person to succeed in the Government, and forthwith cause Procamation

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tion thereof to be made in all the three Nations as ſhall be requiſite. And the Perſon that they, or the major part of them ſhall elect, as aforeſaid, ſhall be, and ſhall be taken to be *Lord Protector* over theſe Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging: Provided, that none of the Children of the late King, nor any of his Line or Family, be elected to be *Lord Protector* or other Chief Magiſtrate over theſe Nations, or any the Dominions thereto belonging. And until the aforeſaid Election be paſt, the Council ſhall take care of the Government, and adminiſter in all things as fully as the *Lord Protector*, or the *Lord Protector* and Council are enabled to do.

XXXIII. That OLIVER CROMWELL, Captain General of the Forces of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, ſhall be, and is hereby declared to be LORD PROTECTOR of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, for his life.

XXXIV. That the Chancellor, Keeper or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the Treaſurer, Admiral, Chief Governors of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and the Chief Juſtices of both the Benches, ſhall be choſen by the approbation of Parliament; and in the intervals of Parliament, by the approbation of the major part of the Council, to be afterwards approved by the Parliament.

XXXV. That the Chriſtian Religion, contained in the Scriptures, be held forth and recommended as the Publick Profeſſion of theſe Nations; and that as ſoon as may be, a proviſion (leſs ſubject to ſcruple and contention, and more certain than the preſent) be made for the Encouragement and Maintenance of able and painful Teachers, for inſtructing the People, and for diſcovery and confutation of Error, Hereſie, and whatever is contrary to ſound Doctrine: And that, until ſuch Proviſion be made, the preſent Maintenance ſhall not be taken away nor impeached.

XXXVI. That to the publick Profeſſion held forth, none ſhall be compelled by penalties or otherwiſe, but that Endeavors be uſed to win them by ſound Doctrine, and the Example of a good Converſation.

XXXVII. That ſuch as profeſs Faith in God by Jeſus Chriſt, (though differing in judgment from the Doctrine, Worſhip or Diſcipline publickly held forth) ſhall not be reſtrained from, but ſhall be protected in the profeſſion of the Faith, and exerciſe of their Religion; ſo as they abuſe not this Liberty, to the civil Injury of others, and to the actual Diſturbance of the Publick Peace on their

parties: Provided, this Liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, nor to such as (under the profession of Christ) hold forth and practise Licentiousness.

XXXVIII. That all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances and Clauses in any Law, Statute and Ordinance to the contrary of the aforesaid Liberty, shall be esteemed as null and void.

XXXIX. That the Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, made for the Sale or other Disposition of the Lands, Rents and Hereditaments of the late King, Queen and Prince, of Arch-Bishops and Bishops, &c. Deans and Chapters, the Lands of Delinquents, and Forest Lands, or any of them; or of any other Lands, Tenements, Rents and Hereditaments belonging to the Commonwealth, shall no way be impeached or made invalid; but shall remain good and firm: And that the Securities given by Act and Ordinance of Parliament for any sum or sums of Money, by any of the said Lands, the Excize, or by any other publick Revenue; and also the Securities given by the Publick Faith of the Nation; and the Engagement of the Publick Faith for satisfaction of Debts and Damages, shall remain firm and good, and not be made void and invalid upon any pretence whatsoever.

XL. That the Articles given to, or made with the Enemy, and afterwards confirmed by Parliament, shall be performed and made good to the persons concerned therein. And that such Appeals, as were depending in the last Parliament, for relief concerning Bills of Sale of Delinquents Estates, may be heard and determined the next Parliament, Any thing in this Writing, or otherwise to the contrary notwithstanding.

XLI. That every successive *Lord Protector* over these Nations, shall take and subscribe a Solemn Oath, in the presence of the Council, and such others as they shall call to them, That he will seek the Peace, Quiet, and Welfare of these Nations, cause Law and Justice to be equally administred, and that he will not violate or infringe the matters and things contained in this Writing; and in all other things will to his power, and to the best of his understanding, govern these Nations, according to the Laws, Statutes and Customs.

XLII. That each person of the Council shall, before they enter upon their Trust, take, and subscribe an Oath, That they will be true and faithful in their Trust, according to the best of their knowledge; And, that in the Election of every successive *Lord Protector*, they shall proceed therein impartially, and do nothing therein for any promise, fear, favor or reward. The

The OATH taken by his Highneſs *Oliver Cromwell*, Lord Protector.

WHereas the major part of the laſt Parliament (judging that their ſitting any longer, as then conſtituted, would not be for the good of this Common-wealth) did diſſolve the ſame, and by a Writing under their Hands, dated the 12. *day of this inſtant* December, *reſigned unto Mee their Powers and Authorities; And whereas it was neceſſary thereupon, That ſome ſpeedy courſe ſhould be taken for the ſettlement of theſe Nations upon ſuch a Baſis and foundation, as, by the bleſſing of God, might be laſting, ſecure Property, and anſwer thoſe great Ends of Religion and Liberty, ſo long contended for; And upon full and mature Conſideration had of the Form of Government hereunto annexed, being ſatisfied that the ſame, through Divine aſſiſtance, may anſwer the Ends afore-mentioned; And having alſo been deſired, and adviſed, aſwell by*

Several persons of Interest and Fidelity in this Commonwealth, as the Officers of the Army, to take upon mee the Protection and Government of these Nations in the maner expressed in the said Form of Government, I have accepted thereof, and do hereby declare my Acceptance accordingly. And do promise in the presence of God, That I will not violate, or infringe the matters and things contained therein, but, to my power, observe the same, and cause them to be observed; And shal in al other things to the best of my understanding, govern these Nations according to the Laws, Statutes and Customs, seeking their Peace, and causing Justice and Law to be equally administred.

O. CROMWELL.

Oliver Cromwel, Captain General of all the Forces of this Commonwealth, and now delated *Lord Protector* thereof, did this sixteenth day of *December*, 1653. sign this Writing, and solemnly promise as is therein contained, in the presence of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of *England*, who administred the same Oath, and of the Lord Maior and Aldermen of the City of *London*, divers of the Judges of the Land, the Officers of State and Army, and many other persons of quality.